

JOHN HEAVISIDE
SURGEON

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JOHN HEAVISIDE
SURGEON



W. A. Beechey photographer

Emery Walker, engraver

*John Heaviside, F.R.S.
Surgeon Extraordinary to George III
From the original painting by Sir William Beechey, R.A.
in the possession of Edward Shirley Jones Esq. F.S.A.*

John Orland-Sutton

JOHN HEAVISIDE

SURGEON

BY

GEORGE C. PEACHEY

*Author of "A Memoir of William and John Hunter,"
&c., &c., &c.*

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HEAVISIDE, John [1748 - 1838]

B2P / H. Heaviside



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JOHN HEAVISIDE, THE ELDER,

SURGEON

THE origin of this branch of the Heaviside family is obscure. All that has been ascertained is that early in the 18th century they possessed a small landed property at Bishop's Auckland,¹ co. Durham, and that one of them was described some years later as "an eminent saddler of Bishopsgate Street." In 1743 we find one John Heaviside describing himself as of Chipping Barnet, co. Middlesex, bachelor, aged 25 years, and two years later, by which time he had moved to Hatfield, co. Herts, he was married by licence to Mary Elliott, of St. Edmund the King, London, spinster.²

Although it cannot be stated with any certainty, there is some reason to suppose that Heaviside had been associated originally, either as apprentice or assistant, with James Ingram, a well-known practitioner at High Barnet. In a short account of Ingram's

¹ There is allusion to this in the will of John Heaviside the elder ; and Mary Heaviside, of Stepney, in her will dated 1768, mentions "Mr. Heaviside of Bishop's Auckland, Mr. Heaviside of Hatfield and his son John."

² See Appendix II.

somewhat remarkable career it is recorded that, starting life as an apprentice to a shoemaker, he later became a barber and earned some reputation in drawing teeth; and it is added that "Mr. H———, his pupil," thought that he would have excelled in any profession. At first Ingram was scarcely able to read, but taught himself to do so, and by borrowing medical books from his neighbours he acquired some knowledge of physic and established himself as a small practitioner at Barnet. Gradually he extended his practice to bone-setting, and eventually "became one of the most eminent surgeons in the kingdom and had great practice at Barnet and in London." Having amassed a considerable fortune he retired to Colney Hatch, and died at a great age, 10 December, 1758 (G.M.). His son, James Ingram, M.D.Oxon., who succeeded him in the practice at Barnet, predeceased him.

In 1743 John Heaviside was contemplating marriage; he was still residing at Barnet, presumably as Ingram's pupil or assistant, and was looking out for an opening to establish himself in practice. For some unknown reason the projected marriage was postponed and the licence lapsed; but the second licence, dated two and a-half years later, and describing him as of Hatfield, shows that he had found there the opening he had been seeking. We can imagine that Ingram's influence had been active in his interest.

For more than thirty years Heaviside practised medicine and surgery at Hatfield, and was patronised by the (4th) Duke of Leeds, the (6th) Earl of Salisbury, and other of the principal families; but there is no evidence to show that he was possessed of any diploma or degree. It is certain, however, that he was a very successful practitioner and that he amassed a considerable fortune, which eventually descended to his only son, John Heaviside, the subject of this memoir.

Some letters in the writing of John Heaviside the elder are to be found among the Add. MSS. in the British Museum, the earliest of which, dated Hatfield, 8 November, 1761, is addressed to Dr. Ralph Freeman, and refers to a picture of Sir Harry and Lady "Blount" (Blunt) which, with some memoranda relating to the history of that family, Heaviside had secured at the sale of Lady "Blount's" effects, and which he offers to Dr. and Mrs. Freeman in order to retain them in the family.¹

Other letters are addressed to the Marquis of Carmarthen, the first of which, dated Hatfield, 22

¹ B. Museum. Add. MS. 35636, fol. 129. This was Sir Henry Blunt, who married Dorothy, daughter of William Nutt, Esq., of Walthamstow, and died in 1759. He was the son of the first Baronet, created 1720, who was one of the Directors of the South Sea Company, and lost £183,000 on its collapse in 1728, and who was summoned before the Court of Chivalry in 1732, and fined for using the arms of the family of Blount of Sodington, co. Worcs.

September, 1767, refers to the appointment of the Duke of Leeds as Vice-President of the Flushing Society, of which the Marquis was Secretary and Heaviside a member.¹ He had hoped to wait upon them to pay his duty and humble respects, but he adds, "I have received so many summons this evening that I must scatter myself all over the country among melancholy faces instead of enjoying that happiness I always do at Mims" (*i.e.*, North Mimms, co. Herts). The second is a letter acknowledging the election of Dr. Charleton² as a member of the Society and congratulating the Duke and Marquis on their recovery from recent alarming illness: "the concern of all in this neighbourhood has been general to all who know you." This letter is dated 15 January, 1769, and is addressed to the Marquis at Bath.

The third letter, addressed to the same and dated Hatfield, 16 March, 1772, enclosed some rules for the Flushing Society as proposed by Heaviside; and the fourth, dated Hatfield, 17 April, 1772, acknowledges notice of a meeting of the Society which he proposes to attend. Each of these letters is written in well-

¹ The origin and nature of this Society have baffled research.

² This was Rice Charleton, M.D.Oxon., who practised at Bath, was physician to the Bath General Hospital, and wrote on the Bath waters. An edition published in 1774 was dedicated to Thomas, 4th Duke of Leeds, whom Charleton attended professionally there. He died in 1789 (D.N.B.).

chosen language; the spelling is good, and the handwriting excellent; each is signed "J. Heaviside."¹

Retiring from country practice about 1780, he took up his residence in Princes Street, Cavendish Square, and appears to have been succeeded at Hatfield by James Penrose, the son of Francis Penrose, surgeon, of Bicester and afterwards of Plymouth.

From some letters which were published in 1789 by Francis Penrose,² whose attainments have earned him a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, we learn that he and Heaviside were on intimate terms, and that in 1783 they made a tour together through Cornwall, with the purpose of examining the antiquities in that county. In one of these letters, which deal with scientific subjects, dated 12 September, 1785, and addressed from Princes Street, Cavendish Square, to Penrose, at Stonehouse, Plymouth, Heaviside writes of recent illness—he was then 68 years of age—and complains that he cannot ride on horseback more than six to eight miles at a time. Three weeks before he had returned from a tour through Norfolk and Suffolk

¹ These Carmarthen letters are all in Add. MS., 28051, ff. 369, 377, 387, 393.

² *Letters, Philosophical and Astronomical, &c.* Edited by Francis Penrose, of Plymouth, 1789.

in a post-chaise, and was intending to set out for Margate the next day, "for a little sea-bathing." In the following February he announces that his change had done him good, but that he soon got worse, and for two months had been staying at Potterels.¹ "I have stayed in London," he says, "as little as possible, except when business obliged me to it"; so that apparently he was still practising his profession.

Shortly after Heaviside's death Penrose pays a final tribute to the loss of his friend, "whose whole attention for many years past had been employed to serve his friends and neighbours, particularly those in distress; this was his greatest pleasure, and he had the inclination, fortune, and abilities to do it. Therefore, as a person of his unbounded benevolence is so rarely to be met with, his loss will be the more severely felt."

John Heaviside the elder died 14 February, 1787, aged 69 years, leaving the whole of his estate and effects to his only son, subject to annuities of £300 to his widow and £30 to each of his two

¹ Potterels is situate two or three miles from Hatfield, in the parish of North Mimms. At this date the mansion was in the possession of Charles Delaet, whom Heaviside mentions in his will as "my dear friend." Charles Delaet left the estate to Justinian Casamajor, who was an attesting surety to Heaviside's codicil, and is therein described as "of Walbrook, merchant."

sisters. To His Grace Thomas Duke of Leeds, he bequeathed twenty guineas for a ring, which he humbly begged him to receive as a small testimony of respect and gratitude for his numberless favours. He mentions in his will Mr Richard Heaviside, senior, a saddler in Bishopsgate Street,¹ some property in the parish of St. Hellens (*sic*), Auckland, co. Durham, and Mr. James Penrose, of Hatfield, surgeon, who was one of the witnesses to the will, and with whom a duplicate of both will, codicil and certain memoranda was deposited at his surgery at Hatfield.²

Heaviside was buried in a vault under the tower of Hatfield Church, and a long and eulogistic inscription on the south wall records that for more than thirty years he had been a resident surgeon in that town. His widow survived him for five years; she died 8 March, 1792, aged 75 years, and was buried with her husband.³

John Heaviside the elder appears to have carried arms, for his letters are sealed with shield, crest (a star of six points) and motto, though the heraldry is, for the most part, undecipherable. His monument at Hatfield is armorial. *Or a lion passant guardant*

¹ He died in 1785, leaving three sons—John, Richard and Robert.

² An abstract of these is given in Appendix III.

³ The monumental inscriptions are given in full in Appendix V.

*gu. royally crowned or, the right paw holding a sword ppr. : in the dexter chief a thistle royally crowned ppr. : on a canton sinister az. a saltire arg. and on an escutcheon of pretence the arms of Scotland, impaling a fesse gu. between two bars gemelles wavy az. : within a bordure gobonnée gu. and arg., the former charged with roses of the last. Crest, a star of six points or.*¹

Sir Gerald Wollaston, Garter Principal King of Arms, kindly informs me that no arms of Heaviside are recorded at the College; and while the impalement resembles the arms of Eliot, of co. Cornwall, the bordure is an unexplained difference. That Heaviside was not entitled to bear arms is borne out by the fact that his son, who held a Court appointment, did not do so.

¹ Clutterbuck, ii, 371. Cussans definitely ascribes the dexter arms and the inescutcheon to Heaviside.

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JOHN HEAVISIDE, F.R.S.,

SURGEON-EXTRAORDINARY TO GEORGE III.

Born at Hatfield in 1748, John Heaviside the younger, the subject of this memoir, was educated under Mr. Garrow at Barnet, and was afterwards apprenticed to Mr. Dance, an apothecary in that town. But young Heaviside had already decided for himself that he would aim at some position higher than that of surgeon-apothecary in a country town, for it is probable that his father had intended that he should succeed him at Hatfield, and before his apprenticeship was completed, at the age of eighteen, we are told that "he ran from his bonds" in protest and made his way to London. There his father is said to have found him in "a dirty court," and straightway took him to Mr. Percivall Pott, of Saint Bartholomew's Hospital, whose pupil he remained for four years. In or about the year 1770-1771, aided by his master's influence, Heaviside was appointed house-surgeon at that hospital, and 7 November, 1771, he appeared before a Court of Examiners at Surgeons' Hall and qualified for a diploma. On the 29th of the same month his father purchased for him a surgeon's commission in the 1st Troop (Horse) of the Grenadier Guards, with the purpose, it is said, of procuring him horse exercise, on which, as his letters suggest, his father set great store

in the preservation of health. It was a lucrative investment, for in return for an outlay of £1,600, the appointment yielded £146 per annum for the rest of his life, he having retired on full pay on the reduction of the regiment in 1788. It also gave him a valuable introduction to general practice, and he is stated to have set up for himself in East Street, Red Lion Square. In the College List for 1777, we find him described as of Oxford Street, and there he remained until, in 1780, he had removed to Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square. Meanwhile he had married—an event which is said to have displeased his father and to have turned out none too happily for himself—and on 9 June, 1780, a son was born to him during the Gordon Riots. This, his only son, was baptised in the parish church of St. Marylebone, on 25 June, as John, the son of John and Mary Heaviside.¹

In 1784 he was a candidate for the post of Assistant Surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, when William Long² was elected by 72 votes, Ludford Harvey³ polling

¹ Details of the marriage have not been recovered.

² William Long was appointed Asst. Surgeon 22 January, 1784, and Surgeon 24 February, 1791. He resigned in 1807, when he was elected a Governor of the hospital. He died in 1829.

³ Sir Ludford Harvey was appointed Asst. Surgeon 15 July, 1784, and Surgeon 13 August, 1807. He resigned 28 April, 1824, and died 16 October, 1829. Member of Court of Examiners and Vice-President, College of Surgeons. Knighted 19 May, 1813.

61, and Heaviside, who had not canvassed, 24. Three years later, on the death of Percivall Pott, Charles Blicke, then Assistant Surgeon, was raised to the full staff, and a contest ensued to succeed Blicke.¹ Among other candidates Heaviside put in an application, but this he withdrew before the contest, when Abernethy was elected.

Several volumes of notes, in Heaviside's writing, of lectures delivered by Percivall Pott in 1769, 1777 and 1781; by William Hunter in 1771; by John Hunter, on surgery, in 1785; and others by Fordyce and Hurlock, were purchased by William Clift at the sale of Heaviside's museum, and are preserved at the Royal College of Surgeons.

On his father's death, in 1787, Heaviside became possessed of a large fortune, and is said to have leased and afterwards purchased the house No. 14, George Street, Hanover Square, where he resided for the remainder of his life. The premises, which were added to by Heaviside, appear to have run through to New Bond Street, three doors from Maddox Street. After the death of Henry Watson, in 1793, Heaviside

¹ Sir Charles Blicke was appointed Asst. Surgeon 15 January, 1779, and Surgeon 17 July, 1787. Member of Court of Assistants of Corporation of Surgeons, and in 1801 of the College. Knighted 1803. Died 30 December, 1815. John Abernethy was his apprentice in 1779.

purchased his collection from the executors, and formed a museum, which for many years attracted public curiosity and, at last, professional attention and jealousy. Reference to this is made in the following couplet which accompanied the announcement of Heaviside's death in the *London Medical Gazette* :—

“ With coffee, tea and buttered rolls,
He found an easy way to people's souls.” ¹

In *The Picture of London for 1806*, this museum is thus described :—“ Mr. Heaviside, of Hanover Square, has a Friday evening meeting every week during the winter and spring of gentlemen of the medical profession and others in his noble museum of anatomy and natural history. A respectable stranger known to any of his friends may easily obtain access to this very agreeable and instructive assembly.”

Again, in William Wadd's *Nugæ Canoræ, or Epitaphian Mementos*, published anonymously in 1827, the year before Heaviside's death, the following verses and remarks will be found. They refer to Heaviside and are headed :—

¹ This was probably written by William Wadd, Surgeon-Extraordinary to George IV. Wadd was himself a candidate for election as Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's in 1816, when John Painter Vincent was elected, on the death of Sir Charles Blicke.

“SEMPER PARATUS.”

Beneath, well encas'd,
A body is plac'd,
Which ——— claim'd as his own :—
Who sung the “Te Deum”
When he bought the Museum
Of Watson, to Science well known.

This Surgeon so great,
Was up early and late,
To tend accidents bloody and cruel ;
Tie artery or vein,
Or extract from the brain
A chance bullet, when shot in a duel.

But Death, who spares none
Made of flesh and of bone,
Took this pupil of Percivall Pott,
So learning and knowledge,
Of Council or College,
Arrests not this Monarch a jot.

“Where do you reside this summer, Sir?”

“In London, Sir.”

“Where is your country house this year?”

“In London, Sir.”

“It is fifty-six years since I first came to live with Mr. Pott, and I have not been out of town a week since. What should I do in the country? I know nothing about the country, Sir!”

“This is a singular feature in a long professional life. No man has lived more in surgery than the excellent old gentleman here alluded to; and there was a time when, in point of practice, he was second to none in the profession, though the law was once very near considering him as *second* to one out of it.”

“The museum in question, by additions subsequently made, became and is one of the finest private collections of morbid anatomy in the kingdom. It was for several years open every Friday evening to the scientific part of the public; but the good nature, and the profusion of coffee, tea and sugar, given by its proprietor on those occasions, attracted a class of beings there that occasioned its being shut up; and you would now almost as easily get a peep into the Sanctum Sanctorum, as a peep into the said museum.” (Wadd.)

At the Royal College of Surgeons is the original catalogue of the contents of Heaviside’s museum, which catalogue was purchased by William Clift, the curator of the Hunterian collection, in 1834, at the sale of the effects of Mr. Delafons, who had succeeded Heaviside in the George Street house and had occupied the room which Heaviside had built for his museum. This catalogue, in Clift’s opinion, was chiefly in the handwriting of Mr. Burnall, a pupil of Heaviside.

“The great bulk of Heaviside’s collections,” wrote Clift, “was purchased from the executors of Mr. Henry Watson,¹ surgeon to the Westminster Hospital and the preceptor of Sir Anthony Carlisle; many of the best preparations were made by them, others were, of course, made and added by Heaviside and his successive pupils, Burnall,² Doratt³ and Howship,⁴ but most of the best specimens were purchased at sales;

¹ Henry Watson was Surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital from 1751 to 1762, when he was elected Surgeon to the Westminster Hospital, which office he held till his death in 1793.

² John Burnall joined the 3rd Foot Guards as Assistant Surgeon, 25 December, 1796, served as Batt. Surgeon, Coldstream Guards, 1799–1802, was appointed Surgeon on Staff, June, 1809, and retired on half pay, April, 1816. He died 7 May, 1837.

³ Sir John Doratt (1771–1863) was a pupil of Heaviside for four years; Member Corporation of Surgeons, 1795; F.R.C.S., 1844; M.D.Leyden, 1805. He is said to have been a pupil of John Hunter, which means that he attended the Lectures on Surgery. In 1805 he was living in Bruton Street, and in the following year Heaviside supported him in his candidature for the post of Surgeon to the St. George’s Infirmary. He also practised in Brussels and Paris, and as Embassy Physician accompanied the Earl of Durham to Russia in 1835, and to Canada in 1838. He was knighted in 1838. He married Maria Theresa Louisa, the daughter of Johan Zoffany, the painter. In 1803 Heaviside’s portrait, painted by Zoffany, was in his possession.

⁴ John Howship joined the Army Medical Service as Hospital Mate, 1800, and was afterwards Asst. Surgeon from 1805 to 1808. He was one of the six original founders of Charing Cross Hospital and Medical School, to which he was Asst. Surgeon 1834–1836, and Surgeon 1836 till his death, 22 January, 1841, in his 60th year, in Savile Row. Howship is described in Heaviside’s obituary notice as his pupil, assistant and successor.

Mr. Heaviside, being rather a collector than an anatomist, his descriptions were generally vague and pompous and occasionally bordering on the marvellous, apparently unintentionally." But in another note Clift mentions one specimen which had been prepared by William Andre, surgeon, formerly a pupil of Henry Watson, and afterwards museum assistant to John Hunter. "Andre was an excellent anatomist, and so passionately fond of the subject that he could not attend (sufficiently) to his profession." Most of the specimens in Watson's, afterwards Heaviside's, collection were prepared by Andre.¹

The sale catalogue describes the collection, which was sold by auction in July, 1829, as equal if not superior to any other formed by an individual in this country, and consisting of an immense variety of natural and morbid preparations, particularly the latter, and among them every part of the human body, male and female, skeletons, skulls and bones, rare specimens of Comparative Anatomy and Natural History, with a great variety of monstrosities in the

¹ William Andre had no personal association with Heaviside. After serving John Hunter as his museum assistant from about 1784 to 1788, he became Surgeon to the household of the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth, on Hunter's recommendation. Andre was the author of two papers published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1782 and 1784. He died in 1808. A short biographical memoir of him by the present writer will be found in *Annals of Medical History*, 1931.

human and brute creation, together with models and casts. From a copy of this sale catalogue, with prices and names of purchasers, it seems that there were 2,644 lots, and that they realised over £1,240. Among the curiosities was one of the testes of the late Chevalier D'Eon, removed after death in the presence of Mr. Heaviside.¹ This was purchased by Clift for 10s. 6d. on behalf of the College, but can no longer be found. There was the skeleton of William Edward(s) White, a private in the Coldstream Guards, who was hanged at Tyburn for highway murder in 1773: he stood over six feet high and had thirteen ribs on each side and twenty-five vertebræ. And there was the skeleton of a woman who was two feet three inches in height at her death at the age of forty-three; and a monstrous child, which was bought by a surgeon of Evesham for three guineas, and sold to a person in this town for 250 guineas, "of whom I bought it," says Heaviside, "in 1797." Among other items were casts of faces in plaster, including those of Sir Isaac Newton; George Morland ("from Mr. Ward, 1805"), probably a death mask; Oliver Cromwell ("undoubted"); Mrs. Siddons; the (2nd) Earl of Bessborough; the (4th) Duke of Leeds; the (1st) Marquess of Donegal; the

¹ The Chevalier died in 1810, aged 82, and an inspection of his body by several medical men set at rest the mystery which during his lifetime had concealed the secret of his sex.

Prince of Wales ("from Mr. Shelley, 1802"); Mr. Glover, surgeon, "who died about 1776"; Mynheer Vryhooven, "a Dutchman who died in a garret in Swallow Street, in 1780, worth about £200,000"; the Right Hon. William Pitt; Charles James Fox; Spencer Perceval; the Chevalier D'Eon; and two murderers—Richard Patch (1806) and Hyman Lazarus (1776), "the similarity of whose countenances is remarkable." There was also a cast in plaster of the hand of Patrick Cotter, the British giant, which was purchased by Clift and is preserved at the College of Surgeons. There has been some confusion between Charles Byrne, 1761–1783, known as O'Brien, the Irish Giant (whose body was procured by John Hunter at considerable expense, and whose skeleton, prepared by Hunter himself at Earl's Court, is in the Hunterian Museum) and Patrick Cotter, 1761–1806, who after Byrne's death took the name of O'Brien, and was buried at Bristol with many precautions against disinterment. There were also busts of William Harvey, Napoleon Buonaparte, Sir Thomas Picton, who fell at Waterloo, General Paoli, and John Hunter; and miscellanea, including books, manuscripts, drawings and paintings.¹

¹ The mask of Cromwell sold for £1 14s.; that of Newton for £2 12s. 6d.; and of Mrs. Siddons for 12s.; and the bust of John Hunter was bought for a guinea by "Tuson," probably Edward Tuson, afterwards Surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital.

Heaviside was a member of the Eumelian Club, which was founded by Dr. John Ash and was thus called in his honour. Their meetings were held at the Blenheim Tavern in Bond Street, and as a literary and social club the members included Sir Joshua Reynolds, James Boswell, Dr. Lawrence, Sir George Baker, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Seward and Dr. Burney.¹ There Heaviside is said to have made the acquaintance of many of those who, leaving England for France, took a conspicuous part in the French Revolution and were, nearly without an exception, ultimately banished or guillotined.

In October, 1790, he was appointed one of the Surgeons-Extraordinary to George III;² three years later, on the death of John Hunter, he was elected to succeed him on the Court of Assistants at the College of Surgeons; and on 14 December, 1797, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In the certificate he was described as "of Great George Street, Hanover Square, Surgeon-Extraordinary to His Majesty; a gentleman well versed in various branches of natural knowledge being desirous of the honour of becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society, we, whose names are undersigned, do from our personal acquaintance recommend him as highly deserving of that honour,

¹ *Nichols' Anecdotes*, ii, 638.

² *Gent's Mag.*, October, 1790.

and likely to be a valuable member." Among his twenty-three supporters seven were members of the medical profession and included Patrick Russell, M.D., Sir William Blizard, Richard Warren, M.D., Robert Hallifax, M.D., George Pearson, M.D., Samuel Foart Simmons, M.D., and Sir James Earle, son-in-law of Heaviside's old master, Percivall Pott; and of the others was the fifth Duke of Leeds, who as the Marquess of Carmarthen was known to Heaviside's father at Hatfield. In accordance with the custom at that time, the certificate was read ten times between 18 May and 14 December, 1797, when he was balloted for, and elected.

His assiduous attention to his practice, early and late, year in and year out, taking little or no holiday—"I have not been out of town a week for the last fifty-six years"—has been noticed by Wadd. Always to be found in emergency he was frequently called in to attend persons who had been wounded in duels, and on one momentous occasion he was present at one of these affairs in a professional capacity at the behest of one of the principals.

This was the fatal duel between Lt.-Colonel Montgomery, 9th Foot, and Captain Macnamara, R.N., which took place on 6 April, 1803, near Primrose Hill. That morning the two officers were riding in Hyde Park, each followed by a Newfoundland dog.

The dogs fought, their owners quarrelled and used such irritating language to each other that an exchange of addresses followed, with an appointment to meet at seven o'clock the same evening. The Captain's bullet entered the right side of the Colonel's chest, and, taking a direction to the left, most probably went through the heart. He instantly fell, without uttering a word, but rolled over two or three times as if in great agony, and groaned.

The Colonel's bullet went through Captain Macnamara, entering on the right side just above the hip, and passing through the left side, carrying part of the coat and waistcoat in with it, taking part of his leather breeches and the hip button away with it on the other side. Colonel Montgomery was carried by some of the persons standing by into Chalk Farm, where he was laid on a bed, attended by "Dr." Heaviside. As they were carrying him, he attempted to speak and spit, but the blood choked him. His mouth foamed much, and in about five minutes after he was brought into the house, he expired with a gentle sigh. At the coroner's inquest which was held in the Long Room, Camden Town, and at which Heaviside and the seconds were present, a verdict of manslaughter was returned against Captain Macnamara.

That same day Heaviside removed the ball from Captain Macnamara, and after dressing the wound on

the 14th, he was taken into custody under warrant charging him with aiding and assisting in the murder of Colonel Montgomery. After private examination by Sir Richard Ford at Bow Street, he was committed to Newgate for trial, to which place he proceeded in his own carriage, accompanied by his solicitor.

The proceedings against Heaviside became a general topic of conversation, the more so probably because Colonel Montgomery had been very intimate with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, the former of whom, it was rumoured, shed tears on hearing the melancholy end of his friend. Commenting upon the case, the *Times* considered that Mr. Heaviside had been needlessly explicit in acknowledging that he was present at the duel as Captain Macnamara's surgeon, and recalled that the late Mr. Tomkins¹ on more than one similar occasion gave no answer other than that he happened to be near the spot. For it seems a severity that a surgeon may not be provided on these occasions, and the case of Mr. Heaviside will deter gentlemen from having recourse to professional men if these are

¹ This was Francis Tomkins, who served with John Hunter in Portugal in 1762. He was formerly in the Dragoon Guards, and settling in practice in St. James's acquired a large army connection. He is said to have dressed the Duke of Cumberland's wounds in battle, and it was he with whom John Hunter is said to have quarrelled. He died in 1794.

bound to inform the police officers. Mr. Cline and three other surgeons attending Captain Macnamara swore it was unsafe for him to be removed from his hotel in Jermyn Street to Newgate, but on the bill of indictment for murder against him, the two seconds and Heaviside, being thrown out by the Grand Jury, Captain Macnamara was led into Court at the Old Bailey supported by his friends and accompanied by Heaviside on a charge of manslaughter. The prisoner addressed the jury in extenuation of his conduct; Lord Hood, Lord Nelson, Lord Hotham, Lord Minto and others gave him an excellent character; and although the Judge summed up by saying that the pressure of the evidence and the prisoner's own admission demanded a verdict of manslaughter, after short consideration they returned one of "Not Guilty."

During his committal to Newgate, where he had remained for more than a week, Heaviside was subjected to much anxiety. His legal friends, Erskine,¹ Garrow² and Wood³ offered their assistance,

¹ This was Thomas, 1st Baron Erskine (1750-1823) and Lord Chancellor.

² Sir William Garrow (1760-1840) was the son of the Rev. David Garrow, who kept a school at Hadley, near Barnet, at which school John Heaviside, junior, received his education. William Garrow's sister married the son of the celebrated Dr. Lettsom. Garrow was successively Solicitor-General, Attorney-General and Baron of the Exchequer.

³ Sir George Wood (1743-1824) was a Baron of the Exchequer.

but the dread of a capital conviction, and with it the forfeiture of his property, made his position seriously uncomfortable. In the circumstances it was thought advisable to sell all his stock, which, together with the rest of his possessions, was conveyed to a third party for safety. He said that from first to last the affair cost him £1,000. It certainly brought him notoriety, which is evidenced by the fact that his portrait was engraved and published almost immediately afterwards. "Egad!" remarked Jekyll,¹ "we never have a homicide or a suicide without a Heaviside."

Among Heaviside's more famous patients was Lady Hamilton, Nelson's enchantress, and when the clouds were gathering around her and she was for the time lodging at 136, Bond Street, she wrote to him—the letter is dated 3 June, 1808: "My dear Sir and good friend." She says that she feels so low and comfortless that nothing will do her good; it is her heart that is so "oprest" that God only knows when that will mend, perhaps only in Heaven. "You are like unto me a father, a good brother; you have saved my life, for which my heart is most grateful. Altho' that life to myself may no longer be happy, yet my dear mother and Horatia will

¹ Joseph Jekyll (— 1837), wit and politician, was Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales, 1805.

bless you ; for if I can make the old age of my good mother comfortable and educate Horatia as the great and glorious Nelson in his own dying moments beg'd me to do, I shall feel yet proud and delighted that I am doing my duty and fulfilling the desires and wishes of one I so greatly honoured." ¹ It is probable that from the year 1807 at least, after which she was frequently lodging in Bond Street until she fled to France, she was under Heaviside's professional care. In 1808 Merton was sold, and for a while she retired to Richmond. First Greville died, and then her mother ; and after five more years of embarrassment she whose loveliness had dazzled Europe died in a Calais garret, alone with Nelson's child, poverty stricken and deserted.

On 3 May, 1824, John Heaviside made his will and therein mentions his wife Mary and son John, the latter being his sole executor, then residing at Huntsmoor Park, near Iver, co. Bucks. We learn from the *Gentleman's Magazine* that five weeks later, on 10 June, 1824, died the wife of Mr. Heaviside, the celebrated surgeon. The particulars are scanty enough, and she was buried neither at Hatfield with her husband's family, nor in the burial ground of St.

¹ This letter was once, but is no longer, in the possession of Mr. Sabin. See *Emma, Lady Hamilton*, by Walter Sichel, pp. 442, 510.

George's, Hanover Square. A glance at Heaviside's will suggests that the settlement entered into in 1804 was a deed of separation, and that after that date his wife did not reside with him. She left no will, and recalling the statement that the marriage displeased his father and turned out none too happily for John Heaviside himself, it may be that she was not residing in George Street at the time of her decease.

Four years later, on 19 September, 1828, at Hampstead, died John Heaviside, of George Street, Hanover Square, aged eighty, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* he is described as of Gower Street, and Geddon's near Hatfield. In the College List for 1828 his name appears as of Gower Street, and his son, in his will dated 1836, describes himself as "late of Gower Street." Geddings is a manor in Hertfordshire in the possession of the Cecil family: Heaviside may have possessed property there.

A contemporary wrote that in character Heaviside was a practical matter-of-fact man, guiltless of imaginativeness or fancy, as several anecdotes might prove. He loved the pleasures of life, and enjoyed them as much as most men engaged in active occupation during all his extended career. His social habits therefore, his intercourse with multitudes of the various classes which make the prodigious mass of London, and his widely spread employment as

a surgeon, rendered him almost universally known, nor was he less universally appreciated and regarded. But even such a professional course is unproductive of those striking incidents which demand the notice of the biographer. Many of the details given have been supplied by Mr. Howship, his pupil, assistant and successor.

Neither father nor son finds a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and with the exception of a brief memoir in William Jordan's *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Persons of the Nineteenth Century*, 1831, which memoir is repeated in William Cooke Taylor's *National Portrait Gallery*, 1846, no biography of either has hitherto seen the light. In each of these Beechey's portrait, engraved by Cochran, is reproduced.

No portrait of John Heaviside the elder is known to exist, but there are two of his more distinguished son. The first of these was painted by Sir William Beechey, R.A., and forms the frontispiece of this memoir. It was engraved in mezzotint by William Say in 1803, and later in line by John Cochran, to illustrate the biographical memoirs in the publications already mentioned. The second portrait was painted by J. Zoffany, R.A. It was engraved in mezzotint by Richard Earlom in 1803, from the original

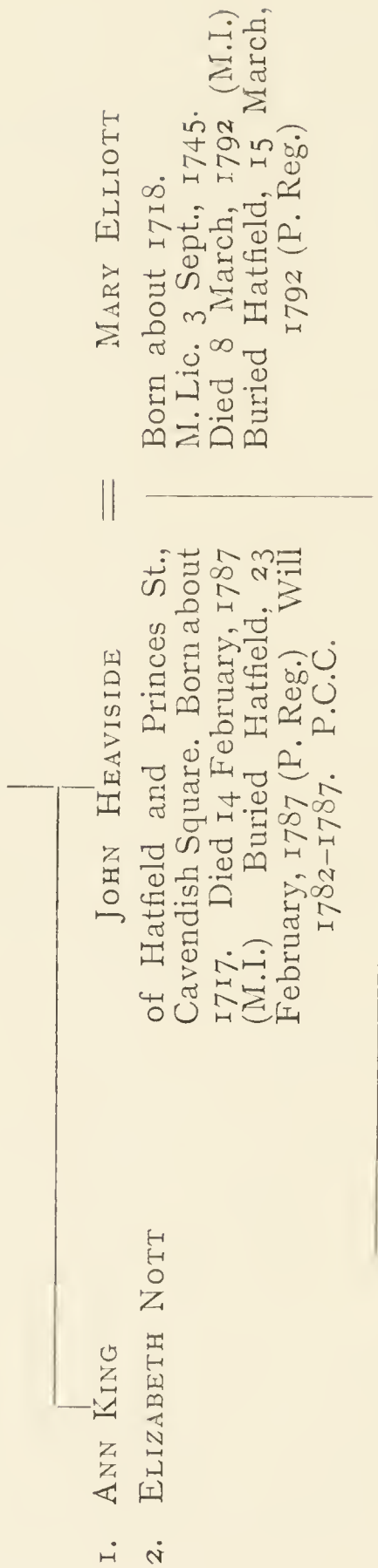
picture, in the possession of J. Doratt, Esq. Each engraving is lettered John Heaviside, Esq., Surgeon-Extraordinary to the King, F.R.S., F.A.S., etc., and each is half-length, but whereas Beechey's portrait looks to the left with his arms at his side, Zoffany's looks to the right, the right hand pointing to the heart and vessels which are held upright on a table by the left hand. In the background can be seen a pathological preparation in a glass jar. The black coat buttoned high, with a velvet collar, showing neckcloth and ruffle, is similar in both pictures : no wig is worn. The present whereabouts of Zoffany's picture is unknown. John Doratt, as has been already stated, was a pupil of Heaviside for four years, and married Zoffany's daughter. Together these would account for his possession of this portrait, and it is recorded that "at Doratt's sale the picture of Dr. William Hunter lecturing at the Royal Academy, painted by Zoffany, and now at the Royal College of Physicians, was sold to Mr. Dumergue for twenty guineas, from whom it was bought by Matthew Baillie for fifty guineas, and presented by his widow to the College."

Neither father nor son is known to have published any literary works, and neither possessed a library or used a bookplate. Though the father is known to have borne arms there is no evidence that he was

entitled to do so. Those blazoned on his monument at Hatfield were, we know, placed there with his son's cognisance, though he, a Court surgeon, did not carry them : they do not appear on any of his engraved portraits.

APPENDIX I.

HEAVISIDE



JOHN HEAVISIDE, F.R.S.

Surgeon-Extraordinary to George III,
of George St., Hanover Square. Born 1748.
Baptised 18 April, 1748 (P. Reg.). Died —
September, 1828 (M.I.). Buried Hatfield,
19 September, 1828 (P. Reg.).
Will 1824-1828. P.C.C.

JOHN HEAVISIDE,
Capt., 1st Life Guards.

In 1824, of Huntsmoor Park, nr. Iver, co. Bucks.;
in 1828, of Gower St. and late of Guilford St., Russell Sq.
Born 9 June, 1780 (P. Reg.) (M.I. says 8 June).
Baptised 25 June, 1780 (P. Reg.) St. Marylebone.
Died 18 February, 1844 (M.I.). Buried Hatfield, 24
February, 1844 (P. Reg.). Will 1836-1844. P.C.C.

APPENDIX II.

MARRIAGE LICENCE. (*Bishop of London*).

1743, April 22. Heaviside, John, of Chipping Barnet, Middlesex, bachelor, 25 years; and Mary Elliott, of St. Edmund the King, London, spinster, 24 years, at St. Bride's or St. Ann's, Aldersgate.

1745, September 3. Heaviside, John of Hatfield, Herts, bachelor, 28 years; and Mary Elliott, of St. Edmund the King, spinster, 27 years, at All Hallows London Wall, St. Catherine Colman, or St. Ann and St. Agnes, Aldersgate.

These two licences presumably belong to the same persons. It would appear that some impediment postponed the marriage for two years and a half. The earlier licence would only remain valid for three months.

APPENDIX III.

ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF JOHN HEAVISIDE
THE ELDER,

lately of Hatfield, co. Herts, Surgeon, but now of Princes Street, Cavendish Square.

All my estate and effects to my son John, subject to the following bequests:—To my wife Mary £300 per annum for life, and £50 for mourning. To my sister Ann King £30 per annum for life: I have £350 belonging to her. To my sister Elizabeth Nott £30 per annum for life, also cottages and meadow land in the parish of St. Hellen's Auckland, co. Durham. To His Grace Thomas, Duke of Leeds, 20 guineas for a ring, "which I humbly beg His Grace to accept as a small testimony of my respect and gratitude for his numberless favours." To Mr. Richard Heaviside senior, now or late a saddler in Bishopsgate Street: to my old friend Mr. John Watson, late wine merchant in the Strand: to Mr. John Rawling senior of Sloane Street: to Mr. James Penrose of Hatfield, surgeon; and to the Rev. Thomas Marsham¹ of the same, 5 guineas

¹ His monument in Hatfield Church is inscribed to the Rev. Thomas Marsham, late Rector of Boothby-Graffo, Lincolnshire, and

each for a ring. To my dear friend Charles de Laet of Potterels, co. Herts, Esq., £100 for him to buy a memorial of our friendship.

My son John Heaviside sole executor.

Dated 28 December, 1782.

(Signed) J. HEAVISIDE.

Wits. JOHN BALCHEN,

JAS. PENROSE,

JAMES BLIETH.

Codicil dated 28 December, 1782.

After the death of my two sisters £100 to each of the daughters, Penelope, Mary and Hannah, of my sister Ann King. To Mrs. Pilborough, wife of the Rev. John Pilborough, another of my said sister's daughters, £5 per annum for life, to be paid to her apart from her husband, who is the vilest and most worthless of all human beings. To the eldest son of Mrs. Pilborough, now apprenticed to a wheelwright at Ipswich, £5 per annum during his apprenticeship. A duplicate of this will and codicil is left at Mr. Penrose's, surgeon, at Hatfield, in a bureau in his dining parlour. Memorandum

Alwalton, Huntingdon, an upright and useful magistrate for the County of Hertford, and for 33 years the much-respected Curate of this parish. He died 14th of September, 1800, aged 67 years.

follows of moneys belonging to several persons named therein, now in my hands: in all £10,550.

This codicil was signed but not witnessed: and on 16 February, 1787, appeared Justinian Casamajor of Walbrook, merchant, and William Tapp of London, linendraper, and swore that they were well acquainted with John Heaviside, formerly of Hatfield, lately of St. Marylebone, and with his handwriting in which they believed the said codicil to be.

Proved, London, 19 February, 1787, by John Heaviside, Esq., the son and sole executor—P.C.C. Major 71.

APPENDIX IV.

ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF JOHN HEAVISIDE
THE YOUNGER,

of Great George Street, Parish of St. George,
Hanover Square, Esq.

To be buried in the Parish Church of Hatfield, in the same vault I built for my father and mother. Whereas by an indenture tripartite, dated 10 March, 1804, between me, John Heaviside, of the first part, Mary my wife of the second part, and the Rev. Robert Thompson, of Golden Square, and Thomas Holloway, of Chancery Lane, of the third part, I covenanted to pay my wife during her life an annuity of £500, for her sole and separate use, in lieu of alimony, dower and any other claims, but subject to be reduced in certain events therein mentioned. I hereby confirm the said indenture, and to her I bequeath £100. To my son, John Heaviside, now residing at Huntsmoor Park, near Iver, co. Bucks, all my real and personal estate, subject to payment of the said annuity to my wife; and in case he should wish to marry or purchase a commission in the Army, he may

set aside property to pay the said annuity,
thus releasing the remaining estate from any
charge upon it for payment of the said annuity.
My son to be sole executor.

Dated 3 May, 1824.

(Signed) J. HEAVISIDE.

Wits. GEORGE CAPRON.

GEORGE W. ROWLEY.

SAML. WELD.

Saville Place.

Proved London, 3 October, 1828, by executor ;
under £6,000.—P.C.C. Sutton 587.

19th December 1931
Visit to the Church
JHE

APPENDIX V.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION ON THE SOUTH WALL OF HATFIELD CHURCH.

SACRED to the memory of John Heaviside, Esq., who, to the manifold advantage of this place and the general benefit of no narrow circuit, was for more than thirty years a resident surgeon in this town. In the knowledge of his profession, nay, the whole scope of medicine, he was eminently skilled, for to the strongest natural impulse, after excellence, there was united, happily, a sound and ready judgment matured through a long course of practice and observations useful to mankind. His retirement from public business which happened years before his death was nevertheless made serviceable to society by all the means that friendship or humanity could suggest. Active, indefatigable, he was still the first to fly to merit in distress and the last to quit it; he was esteemed and distinguished by great and valuable personages, great from their respectability as from their rank, and valuable from their enlarging his frequent power of doing good.

JOHN HEAVISIDE, ESQ., DIED 14TH OF FEBRUARY, 1787,
AGED 69 YEARS.

Here, by the side of her husband, sleep the remains of Mrs. Mary Heaviside, whose conjugal affection, Christian piety and maternal love now receive their reward. If a tribute like this to her memory could avail, then would her son, whose daily attention to the last period of her life breathed filial gratitude, inscribe all her virtues on this stone. She died the 8th day of March, 1792, aged 77 years.

In the same vault are deposited the remains of John Heaviside, Esq., F.R.S., F.A.S., Surgeon-Extraordinary to the King, son of John Heaviside, Esq., and Mary, his wife, who departed this life September 19th, 1828, aged 80 years. His practice as a surgeon in London for upwards of fifty years was most extensive, and by the aid of great talents and perseverance he became an ornament to and attained the highest rank and eminence in his profession. In private, he was loved and respected for his kindness and urbanity. To the poor and afflicted his professional services were never denied. He died universally lamented.

On the cover stone of an altar tomb in Hatfield churchyard are inscriptions, over the same vault, to:—

Captain John Heaviside, formerly of Her Majesty's 1st Regt. of Life Guards, only son of John Heaviside

and Mary his wife, born 8 June, 1780, died 18 February, 1844.¹

Sarah Heaviside, departed this life July, 1812, in her 18th year.

Also inscriptions to Charlotte Maria Deer and Eliza Phœbe Charwood.

Contemporary with Captain John Heaviside was a certain Captain Richard Heaviside, of the 1st Dragoon Guards, whose private affairs were divulged in the law courts in 1840. The son of Richard Heaviside of Peterborough House, Fulham, J.P., he was educated at Eton and Cambridge, and on the death of his father in 1814-15, entered the army. In 1824 he married his cousin, Mary Spicer, at Bath, on whom and their children he settled £20,000, her father settling £13,000. For many years they resided together at Brighton. There were three children, one son and two daughters, and it was there that Mrs. Heaviside, by that time well on in years, eloped with the Rev. Dionysius Lardner, well known for his

¹ In his will, dated 26 February, 1836, and proved in the P.C.C. 19 July, 1844, he is described as "late of Gower Street, now of Guilford Street, Russell Square." The chief beneficiary and sole executrix was "Charlotte Maria Deer, of Teddington, spinster, now residing with me." He appears to have left no issue, and with him this branch of the Heaviside family became extinct.

literary and scientific works. The case, which attracted wide notice, was heard at Lewes Assizes, in August, 1840, the petitioner claiming £10,000 damages, of which he recovered £8,000 and a decree. Captain Richard Heaviside died at Bath in 1847.

APPENDIX VI.

HATFIELD MEDICAL MEN.

Such of the early medical annals of our provincial towns and villages as are extant, are for the most part to be found in the Minutes of Boards of Guardians, Churchwardens' and Overseers' Accounts, and other parish documents, until towards the end of the eighteenth century the first medical lists were published. The compilation of this memoir has brought to light some details of the medical history of Hatfield from the year 1745, and possibly a little earlier, when John Heaviside the elder moved from Chipping Barnet, now called High Barnet, to take up his residence at Hatfield. There he practised for more than thirty years with great success, and on his retirement to London, about 1780, was succeeded at Hatfield by James Penrose, the son of his friend Francis Penrose, surgeon, of Bicester, co. Oxon.¹

James Penrose first appears in the lists of the College of Surgeons in 1794 as of Hatfield, co. Herts. In November, 1793, on the death of John Hunter, he had been appointed Surgeon-Extraordinary to the

¹ After his retirement to Plymouth, Francis Penrose died while on a visit to his son at Hatfield, in 1798, aged 80, and was buried in the churchyard.

King, and later Surgeon to the Household at a salary of £280 per annum, by which time he must have left Hatfield. He died and was buried in the same grave with his father, 31 November, 1818, aged 68 years. In his will, which was proved in January, 1819, he mentions his apartments in St. James's Palace. The precise date upon which James Penrose vacated Hatfield is uncertain: his successor there appears to have been William Lloyd Thomas, who became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1812, and one of the original Fellows in 1843. He was surgeon to the South Herts Yeomanry Cavalry, and died at Hatfield in 1855. Meanwhile two more practitioners had come into residence: Thomas Osbaldeston, a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, and John Burke, M.D., Glasgow, who had been practising at Hemel Hempstead, of whom Lloyd Thomas and Osbaldeston served the poor of the Hatfield Union. It would appear that Charles Drage, M.D. Aberdeen, had resided with Mr. Thomas as his assistant, and having married his daughter succeeded his father-in-law in the practice. In March, 1878, Thomas Osbaldeston died and was succeeded by Lyttleton Frederick Osbaldeston (probably his son). John Burke survived until 1887 and Dr. Charles Drage until 1922. He had retired from practice many years before his death at the age of 97, and was succeeded by his son Dr. Lovell Drage, who predeceased him in 1919.

